Volume LXXXIII CHICAGO, April 17, 1919 Number 7

UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918

THE KINGDOM OF GOD

"In no strange land"

O world invisible, we view thee,
O world intangible, we touch thee,
O world unknowable, we know thee,
Inapprehensible, we clutch thee!

Does the fish soar to find the ocean,
The eagle plunge to find the air—
That we ask of the stars in motion
If they have rumour of thee there?

Not where the wheeling systems darken,
And our benumbed conceiving soars!—
The drift of pinions, would we harken,
Beats at our own clay-shuttered doors.

The angels keep their ancient places;—
Turn but a stone and start a wing!
'Tis ye, 'tis your estrangèd faces,
That miss the many-splendoured thing.

But (when so sad thou canst not sadder)
Cry;—and upon thy so sore loss
Shall shine the traffic of Jacob's ladder
Pitched betwixt Heaven and Charing Cross.

Yea, in the night, my Soul, my daughter,
Cry,—clinging Heaven by the hems;
And lo, Christ walking on the water
Not of Gennesareth, but Thames!

—*Francis Thompson.*

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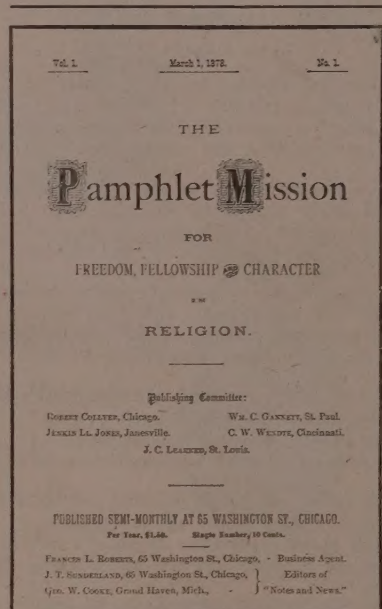

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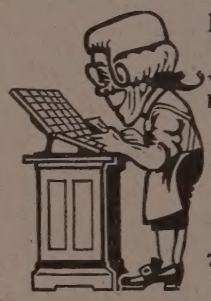

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

Vol. LXXXIII. THURSDAY, APRIL 17, 1919 Number 7

RESURGAM.

We doubted our God in secret,
We scoffed in the market-place,
We held our hearts from His keeping,
We held our eyes from his face;
We looked to the ways of our fathers,
Denying where they denied,
And we said as He passed, "He is stilled at last,
And a man is crucified."

But now I give you certain news
To bid a world rejoice:
Ye may crush Truth to silence,
Ye may cry above his voice,
Ye may close your ears before Him,
Lest ye tremble at the word,
But late or soon, by night or noon,
The living truth is heard.

We buried our God in darkness,
In secret and all affright;
We crept on a path of silence,
Fearful things in the night;
We buried our God in terror,
After the fashion of men;
As we said each one, "The deed is done,
And the grave is closed again."

But now I give you certain news
To spread by land and sea:
Ye may scourge Truth naked,
Ye may nail him to the tree,
Ye may roll the stone above Him,
And seal it priestly-wise,
But against the morn, unmaimed, new-born,
The living Truth shall rise!

—Theodosia Garrison.

From "The Earth Cry." (Mitchell Kennerley, Pub.)

The death of Sir William Crookes, on April 4th, is an event which should not pass without notice even in the midst of such alarms as now assail us. Discovering thallium early in his career, he was led thereby to his famous researches into the phenomena produced by the discharge of electricity through vacuum tubes, later named for him as "Crookes tubes." To the development of this work the scientific world owes its "electric" theory involving "radiant matter." Professor Crookes was probably best known to the average man for his championship of the methods and speculations of psychical research; but his enduring fame must be that of the most eminent chemist of his time, and one of the glories of the English scientific world of the nineteenth century. J. H. H.

World-shaking events are not confined these days to the continent of Europe, nor are they accompanied always by violence and storm. The English have their own particular way of effecting revolutionary changes, and this way is being impressively illustrated by the reported actions of the great conference of capital and labor set up a few weeks ago by the government. At the very moment when industrial civil war seemed to be impending in the British Isles, employers and employees found it possible to get together, and conduct their battle on the plane of reason and not of force. Reports of the decisions of this conference are now coming in, and they indicate that something very like "an economic revolution" is transpiring. According to a program just made public, the government must establish a permanent national industrial council, must undertake definite legislation on matters of wages, hours and unemployment, and must order complete recognition of existing trade unions. And this is only the beginning! What this means, of course, is obvious—the labor people of England are dictating terms of peace to Parliament! The center of authority has definitely shifted from the political to the economic realm. And in characteristic English fashion, the vast change is being made by methods of order and good-will. J. H. H.

Hungary, Bavaria, Jugo-Slavia, Spain, Egypt, Korea, Mexico, Argentina—these are a few of the centres of disorder and revolution reported in the newspaper dispatches during the last two weeks. Hungary has surrendered to Bolshevism, and Bavaria seems to be on the way. Jugo-Slavia is racked with starvation, and revolting against threatened outrage at the hands of Italy. Spain is rent and torn with industrial disputes, and given over to martial law. Egypt, like Ireland, is seeking independence; and the situation is become so serious that no less a soldier than Gen. Allenby is sent to deal with it. Korea is shaken with what seems to be a universal nationalistic uprising against Japan. Mexico reports a new revolutionary movement against Carranza. Argentina still writhes in the industrial agony which came upon her months ago. And to these must be added Ireland, India, Finland, Italy, which, quiet at the moment, may burst into flame on any morrow. Never did the end-of-the-world evangelists have so plausible an opportunity to proclaim their gospel. And if one is not ready to admit that the cosmic world is ending as foretold in the legends of the Second Coming, one must at least concede that a world of capitalistic exploitation and rampant imperialism has reached its doom. An era is passing away forever! J. H. H.

"I believe we should deal with an iron hand toward the Bolsheviki in America, be absolutely merciless. . . . Bolshevism is an ugly thing which should be stamped out." Thus speaks Congressman Julius Kahn, of California, in a special interview reported from Coblenz. Much might be said of the fine Christian spirit displayed by this remark. But as the Chairman of the House Committee on Military Affairs probably has little concern for such sentimental inanities as religion, it may be wiser to raise the more practicable question as to the effectiveness of this policy. Granted that Bolshevism is an evil to be overcome, what assurance can the Hon. Mr. Kahn give us that the "iron hand" can accomplish anything to this end? What evidence has he that ideas can be successfully met with bullets, or propaganda with prison sentences? The Tsar tried this for years, and he had at his disposal armies, police, dungeons, scaffolds, rivalling anything that we can hope to obtain in many years in America. And all he achieved by his "absolutely merciless" policy was his own death, the overthrow of his government, and the letting loose upon the world of the very Bolshevism against which the Congressman is now raising the shout of alarm. The moral argument against the "iron hand" is unanswerable, but resort to this is unnecessary when its sheer futility is so patent.

J. H. H.

It would be a foolish optimism, or a stupid ignorance, which undertook to ignore the seriousness of the situation in Paris. Week after week has passed by, each one with its initial promise of a peace treaty completed and signed, and its final failure to produce anything but explanations and apologies. Even these have not been appearing of late, only promises keeping precariously alive the fainting hopes of men. One wonders, as Frank H. Simonds put it a fortnight ago, if the Conference any longer has the ability to make decisions; and if it be proved, as it may be any day, that some kind of agreement is possible, one wonders if the enforcement of such agreement may not be "beyond its power." The situation could hardly be worse. Yet should we not despair of ultimate accomplishment, however forbidding the prospect of this present hour. For we must still believe in man, in his unconquerable faith, in his inexorable determination, in his abundant life. Man is the creator of his own destiny, the maker of his own worlds. He may be balked, but not defeated. He may be overwhelmed, but never crushed. Famine, pestilence, war, exploitation, all these have fed upon him through the ages; but still he endures, and moves inch by inch ahead. This peace conference may collapse and come to nothing—but other if more devious ways to concord will be found. Revolution, with all its myriad calamities, may sweep Europe from end to end, but in the heart of the storm will abide all the while the seeds of a better day. The civilization that we have known may crumble utterly to ruin, as have all civilizations before it, but this can only mean at the worst a new beginning to a farther end. Why darkness should again and again engulf man's fairest hopes—why he should rise so often, only to fall—why his way should be through such tortures and despairs—these questions may be as unanswerable as similar questions were to Job. But that in the end, man should be destroyed, is unthinkable. Still may we cherish Browning's hope, that

> . . . a sun will pierce
> The thickest cloud earth ever stretched.

J. H. H.

Raymond Robins and the Bolsheviki

The most impressive address which has been delivered in New York in many months was that of Mr. Raymond Robins before the League of Free Nations Association on Saturday, March 22nd. The circumstances of the occasion were dramatic. Mr. Robins returned to this country from Russia after a long period of service as representative of the American Red Cross. For months all kinds of rumors spread abroad as to the stories which Mr. Robins had to tell about his experiences in this distracted land of revolution, and the opinions which he held about the existing situation. Meanwhile Raymond Robins himself said not a word; he would neither confirm nor deny the astonishing tales which were being told. He became as it were a man of mystery. Then came the investigation of the Overman Committee of the U. S. Senate, and the appearance of Mr. Robins in the witness-box under conditions which were bound to be disappointing. One thing, however, was definitely accomplished by this Washington inquiry—namely, the release of Mr. Robins from what he regarded as his obligation of silence. He had been summoned by the government itself to speak—and now at last he felt free to stand up and offer his testimony on this most absorbing and baffling of all contemporary world questions, revolutionary Russia.

His first appearance in this public capacity was at this meeting of the League of Free Nations Association referred to above. Interest was intense, and the dining-hall of the Hotel Commodore crowded to the last square inch by an audience of nearly 1,500 people, representing every conceivable shade of political belief and social philosophy. Advocates of the Czar, of Lvoff, of Kerensky, of Lenine—Russian emigrès, official and unofficial spokesmen of the Allied powers, Russian socialists long in exile, American tories and radicals—they were all there, quivering with interest, and hungry for any morsel of comfort which might fall to them from Mr. Robins's table. The address, two and three-quarters hours long, was one of the

most elaborate ever delivered in the city. At its close, came a perfect storm of questions, which held the audience motionless for another hour. Then at six o'clock came the threat from the hotel management to extinguish the lights; and reluctantly, with much delay, the gathering dispersed.

The significance of the occasion, of course, was in the personality and experience of Mr. Robins. In the first place, this man was a well-known figure in American life, honored for distinguished and useful service in various fields of public activity. There could be no question as to his integrity, soundness of judgment, and disinterested viewpoint. Secondly, he had been in a better position to know and understand what had gone on, and was still going on, in Russia, than any other American. He had been in that country during three months of the Kerensky regime and six months of the Lenine and Trotsky regime; and during all of this time, as an officer of the Red Cross and an unofficial representative of the American government, in closest touch with the authorities, and also with the life of the people. "He was in a position," says *The New Republic,* "to watch the disintegration of the Kerensky government, to trace that disintegration to its sources, to examine the conditions which enabled the Bolsheviki to seize power, and to observe from the inside the behavior of the Soviet government during the first six months of its existence. . . . His account . . . will form an indispensable part of the raw material out of which historians will reconstruct the true story of the Russian tragedy." Lastly, it is to be noted that Mr. Robins was pro-Bolshevik neither in his ideas nor sentiments. On the contrary, he announced himself unreservedly as an opponent of Bolshevist doctrines and methods of reform. If he said anything favorable, therefore, it was because of facts, and not because of any sympathetic prejudices.

In his address, Mr. Robins gave important testimony on three hotly disputed questions. In the first place, he left his audience in no doubt as to his opinion of the character and position of the present rulers of Russia. He presented them as "fanatical revolutionary socialists," bent on working out a definite theory of proletarian government. The charge that Lenine and Trotsky are, or were, German agents, he described as one of the innumerable lies industriously spread abroad throughout the world by the counter-revolutionary forces. Mr. Robins had almost daily dealings with these men for a period of six months; again and again, at his suggestion and request, they used their power deliberately in the interest of the Allies and against Germany. Of course, they were not pro-Ally; they were internationalists. But they needed and wanted American and English assistance, and they feared Kaiserism worse than anything else in all the world. Hence their definite offer, decisively proved by documentary evidence in Mr. Robins's hands, to keep Russia in the war and thus maintain the eastern front, if only the Allies would give them the needed co-operation! As to their position in Russia, Mr. Robins declared that it was secure and powerful. The Bolsheviki are in undisputed control of the country. Even before Kerensky's fall, he found that in order to carry on his Red Cross work, it was necessary to deal directly with the Soviets. The great mass of the Russian people are behind the Bolsheviki; not under duress, but of their own free choice. No single invading force, in the north, in the south, or in Siberia, has been able to detach any portion of the population from loyalty to Lenine. Hence the failure of intervention! During all his months of service, said Mr. Robins, the Bolsheviki gave him the most effective and responsible aid—both Lenine and Trotsky "lived up to all their promises to him and not once failed to keep an agreement." There is only one alternative in Russia to-day—that between the revolution and reaction. We must choose either Lenine or the Czar; and "it is the constant fear," said Mr. Robins, "and the ever-present threat of counter-revolution that accounts for much that is going on."

A second matter of great importance interpreted by Mr. Robins was that of Allied policy toward Russia. Here he was as severe in judgment as he was authoritative in fact. From the beginning of the revolutionary period, these western democracies fighting for democracy, had been either suspicious of, or openly hostile to, the greatest movement for democracy that mankind has seen since the French Revolution. Misled by ambassadors trained in the old diplomacy and acquainted only with the court and boulevard at St. Petersburg, the Allies were dragged into sympathy not with the people in their struggle for emancipation, but with the aristocrats and capitalists and royalists generally in their battle for replacement. Instead of supporting the new revolutionary government with recognition and supplies and utmost sympathy, they hesitated, then feared, and at last went over "horse, foot and dragoons" to the side of reaction. Inevitably the more moderate governments of Milukoff and Kerensky fell, the extreme Bolsheviki came to power; and the Allies took revenge upon their own ineptitude and insincerity, by supporting such reactionary adventures as those of Korniloff, by defaming the abandoned Bolsheviki as robbers, assassins and German agents, and at last by intervening with armed forces. The climax came at Brest-Litovsk. Here, with a victorious enemy in front and a war-weary people behind, Lenine and Trotsky still consented to refuse the German demand for capitulation and go on with the fight, if only the Allies would back them up. Robins communicated with his government; and meanwhile, in the interim of awaiting a reply, with the active assistance

of Lenine, held up the negotiations with the Germans. But the reply did not come. Lenine boldly asserted his conviction that the Allies preferred the Kaiser to himself, and signed the treaty. Thereby was consummated the supreme tragedy of the war. Knowing that the Allied governments, or their representatives, were in close association with the enemies of the revolution, certain that the interests of the revolution would be sacrificed to any political or military advantage quite as quickly by the Allies as by the Germans, the Bolsheviki concluded that the only way to safety was to seize the whole power of the state, and hold it at any cost. Through sheer inability to trust their own principal of democracy, and to understand the workings of this principle in revolt against domestic tyranny, the Allies lost a friend and made an enemy, to their own discomfiture and the unmeasured misery of the Russian people.

As to present policy—the third important point touched upon in his address—Raymond Robins offered a definite program. He advocated that we lift at once the embargo in the Russian fronts; that we initiate negotiations for an armistice wherever Allied or Czech forces are engaged; that general political amnesty be declared and guaranteed on both sides; that relief be dispatched to Petrograd and Moscow through the Red Cross; that we send a commission of inquiry, with industrial and trade experts, to ascertain and report on the present situation in Soviet Russia and the best means of bringing about social peace and reorganization. It is interesting to note that all reports seem to indicate the movement of President Wilson and his advisors to the final adoption of a policy of this kind.

The service which Raymond Robins has rendered to American public opinion by this address, is simply incalculable. It destroys a thousand lies industriously scattered abroad by enemies of true democracy, and eagerly disseminated by a reactionary and dishonest press. It puts on record abundant first-hand information on the greatest event of modern times. It inoculates our minds against the falsehoods yet to be told by those who have good reason to fear the rise to power of the people anywhere. It instructs us as to proper policy in the future toward movements of political and industrial revolution. It invigorates us for brave and far-seeing sympathy with all human aspiration. Mr. Robins's announcement that he is now at the disposal of the public, for witness on this great question of "truth about Russia," is gratifying to every friend of liberty and light. It may be safely assumed, perhaps, that this marks the definite close of the shameful era of vilification and betrayal of the Russian people; and the restoration of America to that proud position of allegiance to all movements for emancipation, which has been hers for so many years.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

CONTRIBUTED

The Fallacy of Secret Diplomacy

To the intense disappointment of liberals everywhere, on both sides of the Atlantic, the great peace conference at Paris is working in camera. President Wilson's excellent, but loosely drawn, first principle of the famous fourteen points, concerning "open covenants openly arrived at," has become "a scrap of paper." Mark Sullivan, writing from Paris to his *Collier's Weekly* for March 15th, says:

> The access which the people of America have to the news of what is being done here in Paris is seriously inadequate to the importance of the events. . . . Our people at home will have to reconcile themselves to the condition that for purposes of forming judgments about the work of the conference almost the only information they have so far had access to is practically valueless. At best the daily dispatches consist of fragmentary shreds, frequently mere surmises. . . . The interests of America are in reality not represented in the conference.

Mr. Sullivan is not the only American journalist in Paris who protests against this modern Saturnalia of Diplomacy. Many of the men and women who went abroad to "write up" the making of peace and the organization of the League of Nations have returned home disgusted. Not even George Creel cared to remain on the scene. The whole thing reminds us of the infamous Congress of Berlin (1878) which Arthur Bullard, in his "Diplomacy of the Great War" (Macmillan Company), says "was an almost perfect example of what ordinarily decent men would agree an international congress should not be."

But any effort to keep the actual proceedings of the meeting in Paris a secret is almost certain to be a failure. Even the Congress of Berlin, where Bismarck swore every delegate to silence, was pried open by a clever journalist, the great De Blowitz of the *London Times*. Day after Day, through all the most interesting sessions, De Blowitz gave the game away. The terrible "private understanding" between England and Russia on the Bulgarian question was published in London the day following its signing. And in the end De Blowitz was able to give out the whole text of the final treaty the day *before* it was signed! To newspaper men this is the greatest "beat" in history. To diplomats of all schools it should be proof positive of the uselessness of the star chamber method.

But some diplomatists are too stupid to profit by experience. The conference now in session is strangely thronged with incompetents. No one would go so far as to say that Lloyd George has any specially important qualifications for public service in the international field; only a half-dozen years ago his name was almost unknown in England and nothing he has done since has shown any great love of humanity or ability to serve mankind. Surely Orlando and Sonnino are not in touch with the pulse of the people, they are men of the old school, statesmen in the conservative sense of the word. Clemenceau may be justly famous for his tenacity; but what more can be said for his equipment? One or other of these important figures will talk,—eventually. Then the whole story will be out. The peace conference can never be kept secret. The only question, then, is as to whether or not the people should be called in now or hereafter. Every sensible student of public affairs will agree that now is the time. A

new precedent should be set immediately. Every day counts. If, when the conference adjourns, the final treaty is handed out for acceptance by an uninformed public the result will be a gradual accumulation of causes and reasons for a new war. No amount of Leagues of Nations can prevent it.

On the subject of the League, is it not possible that the statement given out by the President is but a man of straw to invite attack and show in what lines the final covenant must be drawn? The document itself seems to support this theory. It bears many earmarks of hasty composition; its language is faulty. It does not look like "the real article." Whether or not this is the case, Mr. Wilson will be well advised if he insists on making good his promise to the world for the abolition of the measureless evil of secret diplomacy. The people of the world, as the President knows, are awake. Great changes are taking place. A new spirit is abroad in the war-worn earth. Any procedure or decision that clashes with that new spirit is doomed from the start. What will Lloyd George say, or Clemenceau, if their cleverly prepared peace treaty is thrown to the winds by exponents of the rising tide of revolutionary Socialism? Such an occurrence is well within the range of possibility.

JAMES WALDO FAWCETT.

CORRESPONDENCE

TO THE EDITOR OF UNITY:

I am not at all learned in American political history or in American constitutional law, and I have great respect for the opinion of Mr. Bryce, and if he says that in our political system "states" cannot be coerced, force being exercisable only against individuals, there must be foundation for his view. Just what this is I cannot now take the time to find out, but it cannot be inconsistent with two palpable facts.

The first is that certain "states"—not merely individuals, but the territorial community, acting through their legal representatives—did attempt to secede from the Union, and, if the fortunes of war had favored them, *would* have seceded, whether they "could" (theoretically speaking) or not; and that they were coerced into staying in the Union, whether in theory they "could" be coerced or not. Nothing but the conquering will of the North kept them in the Union; if *their* will had prevailed, there would have been two countries, where there is now one. Mr. Pinkham thinks that the Civil War sprang not from the deficiencies and weakness of our federal system, but from slavery; I do not recognize these as horns of a dilemma; I think it sprang from both. I agree with him that "blood and iron" settle nothing morally; but sometimes they do settle things politically—and happily in this case the political decision was on the right side. As to whether the Canadians and Australians have a "right" to secede from the British Empire I am not informed; I quite agree with Mr. Pinkham that it would be a political mistake under existing conditions for Great Britain formally to deny the right—if a similar right were denied in our constitution it would not make the slightest difference.

The second fact with which Mr. Bryce's subtlety must be consistent is that by the express terms of our federal Constitution the "states" are prohibited from doing certain things, e. g., making treaties, coining money, granting titles of nobility, maintaining slavery, denying the right to vote on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude. If "states" might not conceivably do these things, why forbid them to? And if a state did do any of them, would the United States stand quietly by and exercise moral suasion only? Mr. Pinkham can answer the latter question as well as I. Moreover, I am afraid he has the better of me when he points to the Federal government's passing over the the disfranchisement of negroes in some Southern "states" (I say "afraid," for I have not the details of Southern legislation before me and will not speak absolutely). But the question is now, has not the Federal government the right to enforce the constitutional requirement (if it wants to)? Does it do more (supposing the case to be as represented) than hold the right in suspense, failing to exercise it from considerations of expediency, partly perhaps from cowardice? In principle I am unable to see a difference between coercing a community and an individual in behalf of something right. There may be a great difference between the two cases, however, in respect to the expediency or even the practical possibility of the coercion.

I think I agree with Mr. Pinkham in his main *motif*. The less force, I should say, not only against communities, but against individuals, the better. But there are circumstances that justify it in both cases, at least give the right to its use—whether it is always expedient to exercise a right is another question.

WILLIAM M. SALTER.

Cambridge, Mass., 10 April, 1919.

Tyranny or Justice?

It is unnatural and unreasonable to persecute disagreeing opinions. Unnatural, for understanding being a thing wholly spiritual, cannot be restrained, and, therefore, neither punished by corporal afflictions. It is *in aliena republica,* a matter of another world. You may as well cure the colic by brushing a man's clothes, or fill a man's belly with a syllogism. These things do not communicate in matter, and, therefore, neither in action nor passion. And since all punishments in a prudent government punish the offender to prevent a future crime, and so it proves more medicinal than vindictive, the primitive act being in order to the cure and prevention; and since no punishment of the body can cure a disease in the soul; it is disproportionable in nature, and in all civil government, to punish where the punishment can do no good. It may be an act of tyranny, but never of justice. For is an opinion ever the more true or false for being persecuted?—*Jeremy Taylor.*

LITERATURE.

We are what we imagine, and our deeds
  Are born of dreaming. Europe acts today
  Epics that little children in their play
Conjured, and statesmen murmured in their creeds;
In barrack, court and school were sown those seeds,
  Like dragon's teeth, which ripen to affray
  Their sowers. Dreams of slaughter rise to slay
And fate itself is stuff that fancy breeds.

Mock, then, no more at dreaming, lest our own
  Create for us a like reality!
Let not imagination's soil be sown
  With armed men, but justice, so that we
May for a world of tyranny atone
  And dream from that despair—democracy.

Jewish Exponent. —*Percy MacKaye.*

News from Europe

Greece and the Secret Treaties.—What better example could we have of the dire consequences of secret treaties, made before and during the war, than that of the position of Greece, now presenting her claims at the Peace Conference? Poor Greece! She was bound to get harsh treatment in any event, whether as a neutral, an ally, or an enemy. Now she is the despised and distracted victim of numbers of powers. Italy is at diplomatic war with her about the coast of Asia Minor. The Bulgarians and Turks are resentful about Thrace and the Dodecanese Islands. Britain has her claims to consider and they are antagonistic to those of Greece. Italy, again, desires territory on the Northern Epirus. Her heart is certainly full of trouble.

Britain took possession of Cyprus by a secret convention with the Turks in 1878. The Italians occupied the Dodecanese Islands in 1911 while at war with Turkey. The inhabitants of the Islands, including Rhodes, are undoubtedly Greek and desire to be reunited with Greece.

Pensions in Britain.—The pension question is disturbing Parliament and, not unnaturally, thousands of the dependents of British soldiers. The pensions Minister in the House of Commons put the cost of pensions at about £50,000,000, but there are experts who insist the figure will reach £70,000,000. Hence the anxiety in and out of Parliament.

Armistice Expenditure of Britain.—The average daily expenditure for three months before the armistice was £6,970,450, and for the three months after the armistice £6,738,151. These enormous figures were given by the Treasury to Mr. Sydney Arnold, a financial expert who sits in the House of Commons. Making all allowances, Mr. Arnold works out the cost at only £600,000 a day less to be at "peace" than at war. How long this crushing burden can be borne by the taxpayers is a conundrum. Armies of occupation are costly.

France and Spain in Morocco.—The French consider that the Spanish claims in Morocco should not come before the Peace Conference on the ground that they only affect France inasmuch as, after France had received the protectorate over Morocco in 1912, she handed part of the territory over to Spain, and as this was then an arrangement between France and Spain, so it should now remain.

The Spaniards, on the other hand, who view with misgiving the proposed abolition of international control at Tangiers, in which they, of course, have a part share, desire to be heard by the Peace Conference, and learn that Count Romanones recently wrote to Colonel House asking the Americans to do what they could to get the Spanish claims heard by the Conference. Colonel House appears to have replied that he had no doubt that if the Spanish Ambassador to France were appointed Spanish delegate he would be permitted to state the Spanish point of view.

Thus it remains uncertain at present whether the whole of the Moroccan question which has caused so much trouble in the past, will come directly before the Council of Ten or not. In any case, it appears certain that the system of international control now obtaining in Morocco will not be the one to be adopted by the Commission on Ports and Waterways, and will need considerable modification.

The State Church and Unity.—At a conference at Westminster, England, attended by a large number of Congregational, Baptist, Methodist, Unitarian, and other ministers, under the auspices of the Liberation Society, Dr. Clifford said

he had no objection to a union of churches advocated by the Bishop of London, but he objected to union with a State church.

A State church was productive of social and political injustices. Favours were conferred on the ground of conformity. Before they could have complete union a system which conferred privileges on an ecclesiastical institution solely on the ground of religious opinions, or ecclesiastical relationships without religious opinions, must come to an end. A union between Free Churches and an enslaved church was impossible.

The promoters of the Life and Liberty movement recognized that they were bound with fetters, golden fetters. They wanted to have the fetters melted, but they meant to keep the gold. People asking for freedom must have it with justice.

Free Trade and Peace.—A memorandum has been sent to the members of the Peace Congress by the Committee of the Cobden Club in favor of the adoption of Free Trade by the nations of the world as a means of fostering goodwill among them. The Committee states:

"It will not be denied that the policy of trade protection, in practice, sets up artificial barriers between nations; that it restricts their intercourse; that, to the extent to which it is successful in accomplishing its object, it divides and disunites their interests; and that it has been a fruitful source of ill-will between them. It is, therefore, a hostile relationship which a policy of trade protection assumes as existing between the peoples of the world; and it is a hostile relationship which it actually creates and keeps in being."

This was recognized in the unions of previously independent States composing the Federal Republics of the United States, Switzerland, and Brazil, by the abrogation of Protection against each other on the part of the component members; and no attempt has ever been made, or desire expressed on grounds of trade, to revert to it.

The Irish Centre Party.—In regard to the new Irish Centre party, Captain Stephen Gwynn, its Chairman, explains in the *Sunday Chronicle,*

Instead of leaving it to the British Government to formulate a plan of Home Rule in detail, the Party suggests that "there shall be a Central Parliament controlling national affairs, and Provincial Assemblies controlling provincial affairs; and that the powers of administration, taxation and legislation shall be divided between the Central Parliament and the Provincial Assemblies by a federal agreement, which neither authority can modify without agreement of the other. We hold that under such an arrangement national unity would be preserved, while everything in Ulster's claim could be conceded that an impartial tribunal, such as the Peace Conference, would justify." Among the reasons for the formation of the new party was the fact that moderate men in Ireland were without a rallying point, and that "so far as three parts of Ireland are concerned, if Sinn Fein is allowed to retain unchallenged ascendancy, the returning soldier will find all existing political influences against him." There was more spirit of accommodation among Irish soldiers than any other part of the population, and the men want a quiet country to come back to, not one torn by contending factions. In this connection it is interesting to note that General Sir Hugh Gough has joined the party, and declared his cordial agreement with its "suggestions for constructive statesmanship. . . . Many of us Irishmen have learnt what comradeship can exist and what real brotherhood means in this war, in common with others of the British race from all over the world. It is so precious an asset that it is unnecessary to

enlarge on it. I agree with you when you say that the difficulty in front of Irish self-government lies in Ireland, not at Westminster."

Brand Whitlock Honored.—Mr. Brand Whitlock, American Minister in Brussels, who has been given the freedom of the city, recalled the sufferings which he had the honor to share with Brussels during the long nightmare of the enemy occupation. He said he

had been moved by the same troubles, outraged by the same insults, and sustained by the same hopes. "Brussels," he said, "became the centre of human hope. Throughout the war Brussels was a symbol. Brussels captive, the entire world was not free, and humanity was in exile. The Brussels Town Hall, ever the cradle of Belgian liberty, struggled always against the oppressor. It was in their communes that the Belgians found their liberties. We, the Americans and British, have found among you the model of our municipal institutions."

A Fearful Silence.—According to the *Münchner Post,* Herr Fehrenbach, ex-President of the Reichstag, speaking recently at Heidelberg, described the scene on November 10, when Dr. Solf read out the Allied Armistice terms.

All the members of the new and old Governments were assembled at the Chancellor's Palace. "The Armistice Commission's telegram was then read, stating that there was nothing to do but immediately to accept the conditions. Then the telegram from Hindenburg was read, requesting that all the conditions be immediately accepted and stating that he could no longer hold the army together, and that it was already getting out of hand. Otherwise he would be compelled to capitulate with the entire army. Herr Ebert then put the question, 'Who opposes this step?' whereupon followed that fearful silence. I hope I shall never again experience so terrible a silence."

$5,000,000,000 Worth of Stores.—The London *Times* tells us:

The Ministry of Supply, having completed its main scheme of organization, is now occupied with the details of a policy which will determine the manner in which £1,000,000,000 worth of stores may be disposed of in the best interests of the nation.

The advisory councils are getting to work, and important developments will follow shortly. The Ministry cannot deal with the stores in question until they are declared to be "surplus" by the various war departments concerned. The last thing that is likely to happen will be the flooding of the markets with vast quantities of metals, motor vehicles, horses, and other material. On the other hand, the advisory councils will see that the best interests of the trades involved will be borne in mind and the best authorities consulted.

War is costly and unbusinesslike methods prevail, but the nature of the job is to blame. Anyway, some taxpayers are sure to make a fine day's business out of the surplus when the advisory councils reach a decision.

The Sleeping Sinner and the Punctilious Preacher.

I cannot say that I was surprised to read in a British newspaper a report of a private in the Royal Engineers who was fined six days' pay because, being very tired, he was fool enough to go to sleep in church. It was the clergyman who noted his offence, and who thoughtfully and kindly reported it to the commanding officer. This is the sort of thing that so endears our ancient army system to the intelligent citizen. Nevertheless the ancient army system is not without merit, and sometimes works both ways, as it did in the present case. For on the next Sunday the company of Royal Engineers combined to boycott the collection plate of the good clergyman, and gave 30s. to the sleeping sinner instead.

FRANCIS NEILSON.

"An Eye-Witness from Russia"

V.

FROM THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN, JANUARY 25, 1919

THE "RED" AND THE "RED AND WHITE" TERRORS.

The two opposing forces in Russia and Siberia which we have grouped under the names of the Red Army and Czecho-Slovaks were really composite, but the names given indicate in both cases the dominant military force. The Bolsheviks had ranged against them an alliance, or, perhaps more properly, an association, which did not gain in strength by including groups of widely differing character. From a military point of view the Czecho-Slovak forces were the most important. They acted as a screen behind which it was possible to raise regiments which, it was hoped, later could co-operate with them. In the Samara region of Russia the "Narodny Army," which, translated, means the "People's Army," was so formed, and was officered by men of the Cadet and Social Revolutionary Right persuasions, and received both sympathy and actual support from the reactionary old regime element. Another of the associates had always shown a reactionary tendency—the Cossacks. Those from Orenburg and Uralsk at first professed themselves Republicans, later Limited Monarchists, and eventually rallied round the Grand Duke Michael and desired his restoration to the throne, as was suggested in the manifesto of abdication of Nicholas II. In Siberia the regiments raised behind the Czecho-Slovak screen adopted the green and white colors of the "Republic of Siberia," and were officered by old regime officials, and people of the Social Revolutionary Right party. In Manchuria politics and the military were in such a state of constant change and confusion that relatively slight military assistance could be rendered from that quarter.

In the other camp divisions of party were by no means so strongly marked, but the difficulty of carrying out an active military campaign arose from the fact that the units composing the Bolshevik army, while united for the general purpose of upholding and "protecting" the Revolution, contained within themselves a factor which tended towards disintegration, because of the intensely strong feeling of localism which pervaded the regiments. In one respect the Bolsheviks were at an advantage in that they were fighting an association of reactionaries, Cossacks, Czechs, and later the Allies, whereas their enemies were fighting but a single army, which, though it was heterogeneous, yet roughly represented a single idea. Considering the great diversity of the two associations, it is perhaps remarkable that the co-operation on both sides was as good as it proved to be. It certainly speaks for a generosity of sentiment towards one's friends which is all the more noteworthy when one considers the bitterness of political relations in Russia during the last fifty years. The Czech-Cossack-Reactionary combination was not led by any dominating personality, nor did it stand for any clearly expressed ideals. It sought but one thing—to eliminate Bolshevism and the Bolsheviks from Russia and Siberia and leave a clear field for political parties of lively, though varied, enthusiasms.

A CONTRAST IN AIMS.

Permitting oneself to generalize, it may be said that the Czech combination sought to re-establish in Rus-

sia a political system; the Bolsheviks sought to construct a new Russia. The Bolsheviks turned their attention to the undeveloped capacities of the people; their opponents concentrated their attention on building up a new State from the débris of the old. Time was the most important factor in bringing both parties to action. It seemed clear to some people that the longer the Bolsheviks were in power the greater would be the process of dissolution, and, to continue the metaphor, the débris would be reduced to a finer state of subdivision. Therefore the longer the delay the harder would be the task of reconstructing the State from the broken remains of the old regime. At all costs the Bolshevik power must be broken at once, and, however distasteful it might be, the use of severe measures and bloodshed must in the end be a wise economy. Faith in the essential soundness of the system of the old regime justified the means they adopted, and appeared to sanctify their hatred for the Bolsheviks. Orders were promulgated that all commissaries and members of the Soviet and all men in the Red Guard captured by them were to be shot. In the Buzuluk department of the Samara government, the district of which I am now speaking, the "Read and White" (Czech) Terror preceded the "Red" Terror. Under the "Red" Terror one morning two dozen people were executed after the publication of the orders just mentioned, the victims belonging to families who had pronounced their affection for the old regime, and therefore were not popular in the district.

The effect of these Terrors on the civil population was easy to observe and as easy to estimate. When the Czechs had taken our town there was a "Te Deum" in the principal church, and thanks were offered up to God because the country had been rid of a vile enemy, which enemy, the people said, they had elected to govern them. It is true that there was not perfect freedom under the Bolsheviks, but in the welter of ideas in which we all lived the restraints were not very obvious, and, though there was a censorship of the telegraph and to some extent of the press, we were conscious more of the influence of public opinion than of political pressure put upon us by any one party.

Under the new regime instituted behind the screen of the Czech forces we were conscious of the pressure of one political party, and we noted the suppression of the influence of public opinion. In the town of Buzuluk we saw the Cossacks driving through the streets with a cartload of headless bodies, the peasants remarking, "Those bodies were our sons; they joined the Red Guard to defend the Revolution." The next day, while the Cossacks were patrolling the town, an "election" was held on a limited franchise, and candidates for office were required to have the signature on their papers of certain persons who had held office under the old regime. A Council was thus elected which bore a close resemblance to that which had existed in 1916, the comment of people on the street being, "This is too reactionary for us."

Within about a week the Bolshevik days seemed but a memory. For the first time for many months the rank of officers was distinguished by their insignia, the social position of the ladies by their silk dresses. Public notices told the people of the reign of "prosperity." The banks were opened and free trading re-established. It was no longer necessary, in a country almost destitute of materials, to show proof that an old suit was worn out before a new one could be bought. Articles of adornment and the necessities of life were on sale in the shops and bazaars, but at such prices that only the rich could buy. If the Bolshevik programme came upon Russia too hastily, it is true to add that the return to "prosperity" was also too rapid. The people grumbled.

Bolshevism Preferred to Reaction

It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the Czecho-Slovaks should after three months have found their position on the Volga and in the Samara government to be untenable and that they should have been forced to retire because of grave discontent among the people. Faced with the alternative of Bolshevism or a government which they considered both oppressive and reactionary, it was not unnatural that the people should prefer Bolshevism, because, though it might spell chaos, it did permit a large degree of freedom of opinions, and its programme included projects such as those dealing with education, which the people considered of vital importance.

When I was discussing Bolshevism with peasants last April they used to say to me: "How do we know whether it is good or bad? It will need to be tried for ten or twenty years." And when I expostulated and said that our governments changed more rapidly than that, they were wont to reply that that surely indicated that the political intuitions of the English were more acute than theirs. It is clear that the unfair impatience of those who screened their government behind the Cossacks and the Czechs, and who overthrew the Bolsheviks, was also shared by those who in October turned out the new government and embraced Bolshevism again. For the new regime had not had time to prove its worth, and had this to its credit, that it expended a great deal of energy in re-establishing the railway service, in opening the banks, and in placing the large business concerns on a different basis. Those who had tolerated the confusion of the Bolsheviks should not have been too exacting in their demands of the new government. The débris of an old system littered the path of the Bolsheviks in their task of regeneration; no less did the débris resulting from Bolshevism lie in the path of those who desired to see the old political system rebuilt.

John Rickman.

MEMORIAL TABLET.

(Great War.)

Squire nagged and bullied till I went to fight
(Under Lord Derby's scheme). I died in hell—
(They called it Passchendaele); my wound was slight,
And I was hobbling back, and then a shell
Burst slick upon the duck-boards; so I fell
Into the bottomless mud, and lost the light.

In sermon-time, while Squire is in his pew,
He gives my gilded name a thoughtful stare;
For though low down upon the list, I'm there:
"In proud and glorious memory"—that's my due.
Two bleeding years I fought for Squire in France,
And suffered anguish that he's never guessed;
Once I came home on leave; and then went west
To keep him snug for his inheritance.

From The Nation, London. —*Siegfried Sassoon.*

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

NEWS FROM THE FIELD

At a meeting of the Church of the Messiah in New York on April 1, a new Statement of Purpose and Bond of Union were adopted as a basis for the reorganization of the church along community lines. They are as follows:

Purpose

This church is an institution of religion dedicated to the service of humanity.

Seeking truth in freedom, it strives to apply it in love for the cultivation of character, the fostering of fellowship in work and worship, and the establishment of a righteous social order which shall bring abundant life to men.

Knowing not sect, class, nation or race, it welcomes each to the service of all.

Bond of Union

(Inscribed on the Church Book.)

"We, the undersigned, accepting the stated Purpose of this church, do join ourselves together that we may help one another, may multiply the power of each through mutual fellowship, and may thereby promote most effectively the cause of truth, righteousness and love in the world."

Persons signing the above Bond of Union are accepted as members of the church.

Members twenty-one years of age, who contribute regularly to the support of the church by pledged subscriptions, or in other manner provided by the By-laws, are recognized as voters.

It is to be noted that in these statements all reference to theological ideas, even that of God, is completely eliminated. There is also removed all reference to Christian tradition, so that the church is now as wide open to the Jew as to the Protestant.

At this same meeting the problem of changing the name of the church was taken up for action. Five possible names were endorsed for consideration. These were the old name—Church of the Messiah, and The Community Church of New York, The People's Church, The Church of the New Democracy, The Free Fellowship. These names are to be submitted to the members of the church for referendum vote on the preferential ballot principle. It is expected that the result will be announced early in May.

THE NEGLECT OF FELLOWSHIP.

Perhaps the gravest concern in the present distress is the atmosphere of suspicion and distrust that envelops the representatives of capital and labour. They think they know each other only too well. No device can hide incipient Bolshevism from the penetrating glance of the capitalist; and all the wisdom of the balance-sheet does not prevent the shop steward's discovery of profiteering. Such an atmosphere creates personalities who get on each other's "nerves," and the misery and loss of a strike or a lock-out is forgotten in the temptation to humiliate such an antagonist. Misunderstanding is the proverbial mother of tragedy, and at the present moment she is producing an ample progeny.

This sharp experience of personal divergence is the sign of the growing severance of classes within the community. The quarrel about wages and profits is serious enough, but it stands for a still graver calamity—the existence of classes without contact or sympathy with experiences outside those of their own immediate circles and interests.

This is no new danger. Class narrowness has always threatened the stability of the community, and revolutions are the fruit of such selfishness. Nevertheless English society has held together in the past, despite many social disasters, because there have been always men and women in every class who have found fellowship beyond the limits of their class.

It can hardly be denied that the Churches, especially the Free Churches, have been the homes of such fellowship. Prosperity dooms most of its children to separation from the class into which they were first born, but many a Lancashire manufacturer has postponed that separation for himself, and even for his family, by his loyalty to his church and Sunday school. It has been an immense boon to the State that masters and men have been thrown together in the manifold activities of their religious communities. The number of those who have gained true understanding of each other within the churches may not have been large enough to dominate the industrial situation, but there have been enough Christian personalities in sympathetic relationship to mitigate to a great extent the perils of a total divorce of the classes concerned. The capitalist whose increasing fortune does not separate him from the companions of his youth does at least preserve a mind that can judge from a broader outlook than that of the class to which he has promoted himself. The "Labour" man who knows a just and honourable employer will not preface all his demands with charges of greed and robbery. Such a preservation of fellowship has been a real contribution of the Churches to social peace and progress.

If it is true that such opportunities of fellowship are neglected by increasing numbers of all classes, then it is a grave matter for the State as well as the Churches. At the present moment there is no substitute available. The University receives all classes, but separates its scholars from their humbler beginners. The clubs are highly sectionalised institutions. The operations of social and charitable organisations apart from the Churches only provide a very limited sphere of fellowship. The Church, a universal institution, ministering to universal need, appears in some form or other in every area, and men and women of every type and every class ought to find there fellowship and understanding on the basis of their common humanity.

Even if true justice were possible without charity, such justice alone will not save the community from disaster in these coming days. A fresh interpretation of duties, responsibilities, and rights is inevitable. If it is to be a true interpretation it must be based upon an understanding derived from fellowship in noble service and experience. All the Churches should call to their careless and errant members to return to a diligent and eager comradeship in the great tasks of religion. Seeking together and first the kingdom of God, many other things certainly will be added unto them. —*G. S.*

Manchester Guardian.

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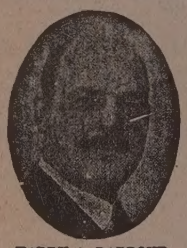

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